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AN EDITORIAL REPORT TO READERS

Shall we ambush -or join- the march to a better world?

THREE PROPOSITIONS of transcending importance in human affairs have been placed before the peoples of the world in the last several weeks. In the order of their appearance they are:

● The Papal Encyclical, **Mater et Magistra,** issued July 14 by Pope John XXIII, endorsing the world trend toward socialization; viewing with a heart "filled with deep sadness" the "immeasurably sorrowful spectacle of vast numbers of workers in many lands and entire continents who are paid wages which condemn them and their families to subhuman conditions of life," while in some of the same lands "there stands in harsh and offensive contrast to the wants of the great majority the abundance and unbridled luxury of the privileged few;" insisting—while approving a system of continuing although limited private ownership—upon equitable distribution of property among all social classes; and opposing economic aid with political strings attached as "a new form of colonialism."

● President John F. Kennedy's address from the White House July 25, setting forth the possibility of war over Western rights in Berlin; increasing the nation's arms and defense appropriations by $3.45 billions to a total of $47.5 billions for the year; and asking doubled and tripled draft calls to face challenges to U.S. policy not only in Berlin, but in Southeast Asia and in our own hemisphere.

● The Draft Program of the Communist Party of the U.S.S.R. issued July 30 in Moscow, setting forth peaceful coexistence of socialist and capitalist countries as "an objective necessity in the development of human society;" setting 1980 as the point where Soviet society will reach the stage of distribution of material and cultural benefits according to needs; and proposing for the U.S.S.R. and all other socialist countries accepting under peaceful coexistence the tasks of preventing war, providing conditions for the complete elimination of war from the life of society, the disbandment of military blocs, discontinuance of the cold war, abolition of all air, naval, rocket and other military bases on foreign territory; and general and complete disarmament under strict international control. For the U.S.S.R. by 1980, the draft program foresees elimination of rent, development of free transport, utilities, medicines and medical care, child care, old age security; a lessening work day, elimination of hard physical work, and modern housing to satisfy all demands. The present generation of the world can and should ward off thermonuclear war, the draft program states, observing that such a war "would not spare the ruling classes of capitalist society, either." For the U.S.S.R. and undoubtedly for the

(Continued on Page 2)

STOCKS ADVANCE ON KENNEDY TALK

Steels, Motors, Aircrafts and Electronics Strong— Oils and Drugs Ragged

THE DAY AFTER
New York Times, July 27

THE NEW FRONTIER'S BLUEPRINT FOR AMERICA'S YOUTH
A citizen of the 50th state demonstrates the Berlin Look

FRENCH VICIOUSNESS AND U.S. SILENCE SHOCK THE WORLD

Tunisia massacre: The face of colonialism

By David Wesley

LINES OF FLAG-DRAPED coffins surrounded the huge square in Tunis where 75,000 mourning citizens had gathered to listen to the funeral oration by President Habib Bourguiba. From nearby mosques came the moaning of lamentations for the dead. The crowd was somberly quiet, but a number of white-veiled women fainted in the heavy atmosphere of grief.

High on a hill overlooking the placid blue sweep of the Mediteranean 40 miles to the north, more than 100 volunteers, fresh from manning barricades around the giant French naval and air base at Bizerte, toiled in the hot sun digging mass graves. Four days of senseless massacre by the notorious "paras" (paratroopers) of the French Foreign Legion had preceded these scenes, once again shocking the world at the savage death throes of Western colonialism.

On July 19, unable for three years to get Paris to make good on its agreement to negotiate liquidation of the NATO base. Tunisian President Bourguiba, the West's best friend in the Arab and African worlds, launched a "peace siege" of road blocks around the base, manned by soldiers and volunteer civilians. Simultaneously, he sent a column of blue-denim volunteers marching into the desert to Marker 233, 28 miles south of the present Tunisian border, to stake out a Tunisian claim going back to 1910 to an area, not far from a major French oilfield, that is also being claimed from

(Continued on Page 6)

RELIEF CODE SPURS FIGHT TO END DISCRIMINATON

Newburgh Plan's goal: Keep the Negroes out

By Joanne Grant
Guardian staff correspondent

NEWBURGH, N.Y.

THE CONTROVERSY over a new welfare code put into effect July 15 by city officials of Newburgh, N.Y., a city of 30,000 about 60 miles from New York City, has received nationwide attention and provided even stronger repercussions than its proponents foresaw.

The official aim of the new regulations is to reduce the city's welfare costs by screening "chiselers" off the relief rolls; the unofficial aim is to cut migration of Southern Negroes who, some persons insisted, have settled in Newburgh to live on public assistance.

City Manager Joseph McDowell Mitchell, chief proponent of the new code, said it was an attempt to return welfare programs to their original purposes. At one time there was a social stigma attached to welfare, Mitchell said. "That whole concept has changed," he declared. "It has become an honorable thing, a way of life for some. The result is that you don't stimulate people to get work. It has taken away their incentive to take care of themselves. We need a little more conscience about this idea of accepting public money."

THIS IS THE CODE: With that philos-

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THE MAIL BAG

A Spanish view

PARIS, FRANCE

(Excerpt from an open letter to President Kennedy):

How much longer must the myth be maintained that the defense of the so-called free world requires the assistance of dictatorial governments that deny the most elemental freedom to their own people? And what significance can the freedom of others have for the Spanish people if they themselves cannot share it, and if the governments of these others peoples contribute aid for the support of tyranny?

The best way to lose a good cause, Mr. President, is to defend it through unjust means that are contrary to the common good of the people.

For UNION DEMOCRATICA DE ESTUDIANTES
J. M. Kidelan
Xavier Flores
For AGRUPACION SOCIALISTA UNIVERSITARIA
F. Bustelo
For the Paris Group of ACTION REPUBLICANA DEMOCRATICA ESPANOLA
F. Javier Alvajar

Note: The first two groups are the largest university groups in Spain. The third is the recently formed fusion party of all Republican groups and parties.)

Note to Adlai

MANHATTAN BEACH, CALIF.

Excerpt from an open letter to Adlai Stevenson:

If you take the trouble to read history, not that made for home consumption but that which gives you the real facts about our conduct as a nation in Haiti, Dominican Republic, Nicaragua, Honduras, Guatemala, Mexico, Venezuela, Cuba and Spain, then you will realize that we are not in a position to talk about subversion, infiltration, betrayal of revolutions. We are the masters of deceit when it comes to justifying our peculiar system of political and economic penetration and domination in those countries, and that is the root of all suspicion, dislike and hate toward us.

Sebastian Arrieta

Hiss and history

SANTA ROSA, CALIF.

The strange circumstances of Whittaker Chambers' death and speedy cremation, of his wife's collapse and of the belated announcement of his demise have drawn only bare mention from our oddly incurious press. The Hiss case is closed. But it must not be closed.

We must destroy the Un-American Committee (also its Senatorial counterpart) if we are to have any surcease from intellectual and moral bankruptcy. It was the Committee that sent Alger Hiss to prison; that destroyed the Rosenbergs and keeps Morton Sobell behind bars; that made Richard Nixon the leader of the Republican Party; that destroyed the Democratic Party and made John F. Kennedy President of the United States; that ruined our universities and sent our intellectuals to cover. And it was the Hiss Case that made the committee all-powerful.

Hiss must be vindicated. The case against him was so absurd as to be laughed out of any sane court in the world. But we do not have sane courts. We have frightened judges and frightened juries, frightened writers who pretend to weigh ridiculous evidence and declare that a generation was somehow on trial in the person of Hiss. But Hiss was in the dock only by proxy, taking the place of the only beloved president in modern history. Only when Hiss is cleared will we return to the path of reason.

George Hanlin

Happy Birthday, Scott

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Aug. 6 is the 78th birthday of Scott Nearing, teacher, author, citizen of the world, a great humanitarian and an unyielding anti-fascist. His noble personality is a source of inspiration and strength to those of us who are happy enough to have become personally acquainted with him. **Mildred Kaufman**

A name or two

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Agreeing with you on your good review of Bert Meyers' even better book, I nonetheless find your list of "Angeleno poets" incomplete.

For one thing ,you've omitted the entire journalism department of the Unitarian Church —Stanley Kurnik, Lee Jensen, and numerous others.

And among protest poets who turn up in the "right" magazines—which I presume to be Left—are Mel Weisburd, James Boyer May, Bill Margolis, Tom McGrath, Charles Eastman, Charles Bukowski, H. N. Tsiang, William Pillin and Stuart Perkoff. And of course modesty prevents my naming yet another . . . **Curtis Zahn**

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

KINGS POINT, L.I., July 31 —Clarence D. Martin Jr., Under Secretary of Commerce for Transportation, said here today that the Soviet Union was using shipping as a long-range weapon in the "cold war."

He said the greatly augmented Soviet merchant fleet was being utilized for Communist penetration and furtherance of trade agreements with more than 40 countries.

N.Y. Times, Aug. 1

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: Anon., New York, N.Y.

Justice is blind

NEW YORK, N.Y.

A C.D. drill protester got 30 days for failing to take shelter.

Some executives of our giant electrical concerns got 30 days, too, for violation of the anti-trust laws.

Anatole France once said: "The Law in its sublime impartiality forbids the richest and the poorest to steal bread and sleep under the bridges." **Jean Degas.**

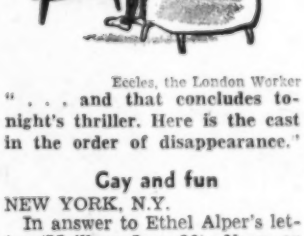
A thank-you

EAST ST. LOUIS, ILL.

Thank you for the very wonderful gift of three long-playing records. We can use them to the highest advantage, and do appreciate them so very much. Many hours of pleasure will be derived by children and adults alike.

Mrs. Freeda Swope,
Director
Lessie Bates Davis
Neighborhood House

(The records were a gift from an anonymous Guardian Buying Service Customer. — Ed.)



Eccles, the London Worker

" . . . and that concludes tonight's thriller. Here is the cast in the order of disappearance."

Gay and fun

NEW YORK, N.Y.

In answer to Ethel Alper's letter (**Mailbag,** June 26): **Never on Sunday** is gay and fun. Not one of us who enjoyed the film believes that prostitution is the answer to the single-woman-without-support problem. But this heroine was gallant and decent. The pathway to socialism doesn't necessarily have to be paved with dull and stupid movies. I'm just saving up money to see it a second time. **F.J.**

An obsession

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Declaring war on communism, as the Phillion Resolution in Congress proposes, is hardly the way to the peace we profess.

A Communist, I take it, is someone who believes that communism is better for the people than capitalism. He may be all wrong about that, but according to his lights, he seeks a better world. Why such people should be constantly hounded and persecuted is beyond me. Our almost psychopathic obsession with communism does not enhance our prestige.

Samuel Buck

Fund-raising idea

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

With correspondents like Kumar, Cedric, Anna Louise Strong and everyone else roving the world, why couldn't they ask some of the people they meet for their autographs?

These autographs could be auctioned off or just sold at various of your affairs. They could be all on one piece of paper or booklet; they could be matted and framed individually, possibly with the person's photo above, as these things are sometimes done. I'm sure you could think of many ways in which their value could be enhanced for fund-raising purposes. **J.H.**

HUAC reaction

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

The chairman of the House Un-American Committee is furious when some respectable newspaper prints the advertisement of the Communist Party defending itself and the U.S. Constitution.

The HUAC is a conspiracy to destroy freedom of thinking, freedom of differing and to establish one single ideology of fascism in this country.

N. Egarian

Ten Years Ago in the Guardian

AS RAPIDLY AS WE can make make space, we are now in the process of printing a new list of some 550 Americans whose names have been made public as POWs by the Chinese. These are in addition to more than 800 names we have already printed in issues of the GUARDIAN since mid-April. This total of names is almost ten times the number "officially" acknowledged by our government as POWs—although the sources through which we have received these names are open to any agency in the U.S., government, press or individual. Furthermore, there is not a shred of reason to doubt that the names are authentically those of American young men who are alive and well in POW camps in North Korea.

We publish these names to make it possible for readers to undertake the humane job of letting next-of-kin know their men have been heard from—that they need no longer be considered "missing," with all the ache and dread that word implies. Hundreds of families have had this reassurance through the neighborliness of GUARDIAN readers.

—From the National Guardian, Aug. 8, 1951

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REPORT TO READERS

To a better world

(Continued from Page 1)

rest of the socialist world—now numbering a billion people, whose representatives will be urged to concur in the Soviet objectives following adoption of the program in October—the draft program pledges "fraternal friendship and close cooperation with the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, which are fighting to attain or consolidate national independence."

FREE ELECTIONS constitute the touchstone for the export model of U.S.-style democracy and President Kennedy did not fail to put this proposal as an alternative to force in the Berlin situation: "If anyone doubts the extent to which our presence is desired by the people of West Berlin compared to the East German feelings about their regime, we are ready to have that question submitted to a free vote in Berlin, and,if possible, among all the German people."

If these three propositions—the Pope's for a world of peace and equity retaining a measure of private ownership; the Soviet's for equal sharing of the earth's benefits under public ownership throuph peaceful coexistence; or President Kennedy's new approach to the brink of war—were to be submitted to "free election" by the world's two billion people, which would run last?

THE ANSWER IS OBVIOUS, yet the dangerous truth for our country is that there is no articulate, mass opposition at home to the President's plan for stepped-up belligerence in world affairs. Indeed the President's address was made against a background of the worst jingoism in the press and public opinion in most memories. Senator Mike Mansfield of Montana, following a speech in the Senate proposing establishment of Berlin as a free city, received heavy mail, more than half from Texas, California, New York, Illinois and Pennsylvania, disagreeing with him 4-1, with many attacking his patriotism, integrity and motives. When Senator Clark of Pennsylvania spoke in the Senate in behalf of a plan for disengagement in Europe, only Senators Church and Morse stayed to hear him. At the conclusion Morse remarked that if there were disarmament "much of the Berlin problem would vanish."

Senator Fulbright's stand against Senator Goldwater's demand for "total victory" over international communism by military means and his attacks on John Birchism in the Army's educational program have received a scant press. When only two Senators stayed for one of his addresses, he broke off his speech and put the rest unspoken into the **Congressional Record.** Similarly played down are the views of Stevenson and Bowles for a new approach to China and Stevenson's recent findings that most of Latin America opposes intervention in Cuba.

HARDLY ANYONE in the press has pointed out what London's conservative **Daily Telegraph** observed, that "short of nuclear war, Berlin is, despite Mr. Kennedy's rhetoric, indefensible." Nor have many noted the corollary to this, that the President's call for an increase of some 200,000 in the U.S. armed forces and an additional expenditure of $1.8 billion for non-nuclear weapons, ammunition and equipment, plus the reactivation of "many ships and planes once headed for retirement," could therefore have no relation to a Berlin crisis, real or fancied.

Rather, what the country seems headed for is blanket endorsement, under a head of steam created by a home-made Berlin crisis, of a vastly expanded military establishment equipped only to engage in brush-fire warfare. And by elimination of areas overseas where such forces might be deployed, only our own hemisphere remains.

CUBA, OFFERING to return the hijacked Eastern airliner July 29, said it was doing so to deprive the U.S. of any pretext for an invasion. The Cuban note charged that new concentrations of invasion forces were accumulating in Guatemala, Puerto Rico and the Canal Zone; and that an extraordinary increase is taking place in forces at the U.S. naval base at Guantanamo Bay. (Journalist William Worthy reported last month that the original CIA plan for the Cuban invasion called for exile pilots in uniforms of the Cuban air force to bomb both Guantanamo and Florida, thus creating the pretext for full-scale invasion of Cuba by U.S. forces.)

Whatever the uses ahead for a rebuilt and reactivated conventional armed force, it is an anachronism both militarily and in the face of the determination of the whole rest of the world outside NATO for disarmament and peace.

Urge your senators now to join Fulbright, Clark and the few others in the Senate who insist that armed intervention is not the answer to problems in the modern world. **—THE GUARDIAN**

GOSHAL REPORTS FROM GHANA ON THE STRUGGLE FOR UNITY

Nkrumah seeks freedom for all Africans

By Kumar Goshal
Guardian staff correspondent

ACCRA, GHANA

GHANA PRESIDENT Kwame Nkrumah believes with President Sekou Toure of Guinea and President Modibo Keita of Mali that the free African nations must identify themselves with those still fighting for freedom in Africa. He is convinced all free Africans will remain insecure as long as an inch of African territory remains under foreign control. In his April 18 address to Ghana's National Assembly Nkrumah said:

"Our struggle for liberation is merely a part of the struggle of all mankind for freedom and particularly of the African struggle for emancipation."

Nkrumah has acted on this principle in many ways. His Bureau of African Affairs gives employment to African expatriates and political refugees, and publishes pertinent material as well as the monthly **Voice of Africa.** He invited the All-African People's Conference to establish its headquarters in Accra.

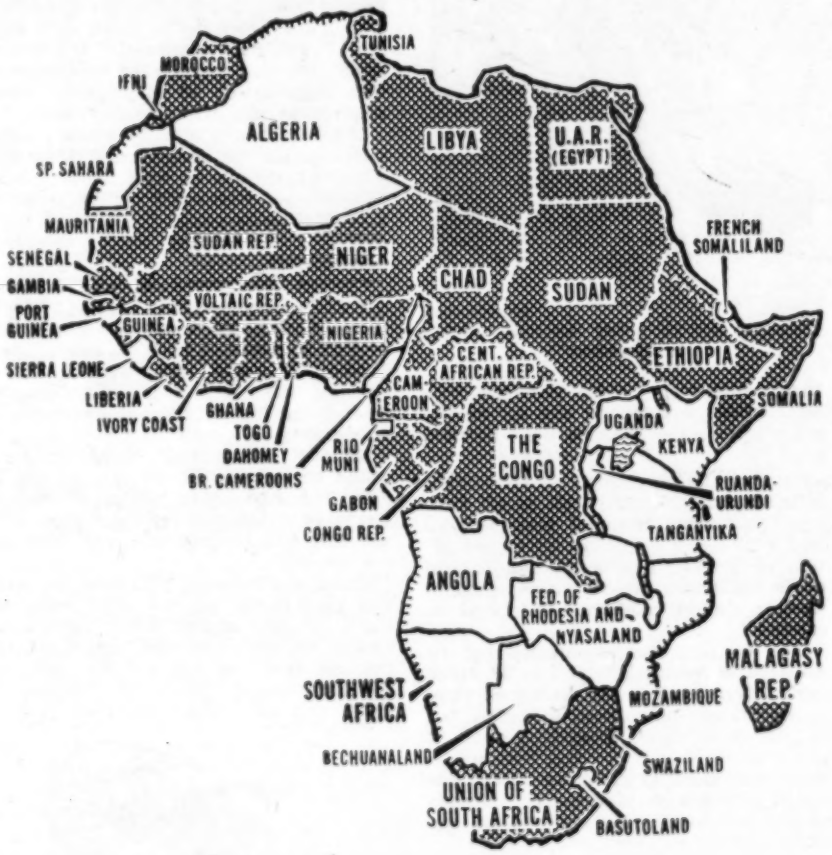
ROLE OF UNIFIER: At the AAPC's conference in Cairo last March, where the decision was taken to organize the All-African Trade Union Federation, Ghana Trade Union Congress Secy. Gen. John K. Tettegah summed up the conference's function:

"The All-African People's Conference is a non-governmental organization. It . . . welds together nationalist political parties in Africa, trade unions and youth organizations. As a mass organization, we should not limit ourselves to governmental procedures but find means of popularizing the decisions of our conference, and raising the consciousness of the masses of Africa to bring pressure on their governments for the implementation of our decisions. That is why it is imperative that the AAPC should support the formation of the AATUF. We must also support the formation of a Pan-African Youth Movement."

Ghana was host to two recent conferences that dramatically demonstrated Nkrumah's approach. At the President's invitation, the UN Commission on Southwest Africa met in Accra to hear those who pleaded for UN intervention on behalf of the oppressed Southwest Africans. Following this, leaders and representatives of all political parties in the still "dependent" countries of Africa met with Nkrumah for a ten-day conference.

The UN commission was composed of representatives of Brazil, Denmark, Ethiopia, Guatemala, Indonesia, the Philippines, the United Arab Republic and Uruguay, with Enrique Fabregat of Uruguay as chairman. It had been asked by the UN Assembly to proceed to Southwest Africa to investigate on the spot South Africa's annexation of the mandated territory and oppression of its people.

AN OLD ISSUE: This issue has been coming up at the UN for several years, with South Africa regularly thumbing its nose at those who supported Southwest Africa. At the Accra hearing, once again, there were Mbrumba Kerina and Jarivetundu Kozonguizi speaking for their own people, and of course Rev. Michael Scott representing the African chiefs. Scott has become the symbol of the white man's conscience at these gatherings. This time there were others who had managed to slip out of Southwest Africa and representatives of South African political parties who appeared on behalf of the Southwest Africans, since the same South African government oppresses the Africans of both countries.



THE MAP OF AFRICA IS BEING REDRAWN
Only the unshaded areas remain under colonial control

The pressure on the commission to go to Southwest Africa was terrific, although the Verwoerd government had warned that the members would be arrested if they entered that country. Scott thought they should make the attempt, and if they were arrested, this would be evidence against the South African government. The commission asked for and was promised permission from Britain to go to the British Protectorate of Bechuanaland, adjoining Southwest Africa. But London caved in under Verwoerd's pressure and ruled that the commission must make no attempt to cross the border.

The commission has avoided Bechuanaland but is traveling through other parts of Africa, taking the testimony of Southwest Africans who have escaped from their country. Commission members are cabling UN Secy.-Gen. Dag Hammarskjold for action to prevent an explosion in Southwest Africa. Their sense of urgency is heightened because they are functioning in an African atmosphere at the invitation of an African—Nkrumah.

AFRICAN DIVISION: As Southwest Africans and Angolans (Angola borders on Southwest Africa, and Verwoerd has moved troops there) testified before the commission, something else came out in the open which leaders of independent African states had known about but had taken no steps to remedy: The division in the ranks of those fighting for freedom in the still dependent territories. Nkrumah decided to act.

At Ghana's invitation, representatives of political parties from every dependent territory came to meet at the Kwame Nkrumah Institute at Winneba, 38 miles from Accra. They had talks with Nkrumah and among themselves for over a week. Kerina and Kozonguizi were there, each heading an organization of Southwest Africans. Also present were Peter Molotsi and Peter Raboroco of the Pan Africanist Congress, Tennyson Makiwane and Joseph Mathews of the African National Congress of South Africa, and such leaders as Kenneth Kaunda of North Rhodesia and Joshua Nkomo of South Rhodesia.

The conference was supposed to be secret but the story leaked out. Although details cannot be given, it was obvious that all had a chance to consult Nkrumah and an opportunity to reconcile their differences. The fact that they all got together in one place was in itself no small achievement.

HIS PROPOSALS: Nkrumah has proposed steps to meet two other issues much on his mind: (1) advance preparation to avoid mistakes made during the Congo crisis, and (2) steps to strengthen nominally free countries so that they can act freely.

"The Congo crisis," he said in his address to the Assembly, "would not have developed to such an extent had the African states been united and better prepared to deal with it when it arose." But the South African question, for instance, is fortunately one "upon which African states . . . have a unity of approach."

Nkrumah has no doubt of the eventual outcome of the struggle in South Africa. "We should begin discussions now with other African states," he said, "as to the form of assistance we could give to any government which was formed in South Africa after the defeat of the existing apartheid regime." He proposed training Africans from South Africa "to be ready to take over positions of responsibility." He thought this might be done through the UN. He was sure, however, that "any action taken with regard to South Africa should be agreed beforehand by the largest number of states possible." He suggested a conference solely on the issue of South Africa.

CLIENT STATES? Nkrumah is aware that "political independence does not necessarily mean the end of colonialism," for even independent countries may become "client states . . . dependent on some outside power for their economic existence and military defense" and thus become "a positive danger to peace."

JOSHUA NKOMO
He spoke for Southern Rhodesians

Ghana, he said, must industrialize and build a strong foundation not only for its own people but also to "assist other countries to attain real independence." As concrete steps in that direction, he suggested that Ghana's new Tema harbor "become a free port for African states who want to use it" and that roads be extended to link Upper Volta, Upper Dahomey, Niger and Mali with Ghana. He added:

"The independent African states must start as soon as possible to devise a plan whereby the deficiencies of one country can be made good by the surpluses of another."

War over Berlin 'madness,' MPs warn the West

The group of socialist Laborite Members of Parliament called Victory for Socialism has drawn up a declaration on Germany. The statement was sent to the GUARDIAN by MP Konni Zilliacus. Following are excerpts:

THE U.S. Administration is uttering bellicose threats and indulging in alerts, maneuvers and other provocative action in Germany and Berlin . . . All this because the Soviet Government . . . has served notice . . . it will conclude a peace treaty with East Germany.

Both Mr. [Soviet Premier] Khrushchev and Walter Ulbricht, the Prime Minister of the German Democratic Republic, have declared that there is no question of denying access to West Berlin to the Allies; they would have just as free access as today, and permits would be issued, papers stamped, etc., just as automatically as in the past. Only the controlling authorities would be East German, not Soviet officials.

This the West considers would imply loss of position in West Berlin and on the lines of communication to it which they claim is theirs by right under the armistice agreement. It might also carry with it a measure of recognition of the East German state, which would be contrary to Western policy.

When this proposal was made a few years ago, even the late Mr. John Foster Dulles suggested that the Allies could accept it without recognizing the GDR, by treating the East German officials as agents of the Soviet Government. But today, when an airlift is impracticable for technical reasons (sabotage of radar "beams" and signal stations, etc.) and an attempt to crash through with land forces would be sheer suicidal madness, the U.S. Administration and their Tory camp-followers in this country are talking in terms of force, and seem to rule out compromise by negotiation.

It should not be forgotten, in this connection, that the Charter of the United Nations prohibits resort to force without the authorization of the Security Council, except as a measure of defense against an armed attack. When the British and American Governments therefore plan to resort to force . . . they are saying that they will commit aggression in violation of the U.N. Charter, and even start a nuclear world war rather than see their aggression defeated.

That is the terrifying reality behind all the talk about "safeguarding the right of access to West Berlin."

The Newburgh plan

(Continued from Page 1)

ophy as justification, the Republican-controlled City Council voted four to one to adopt a 13-point code, termed illegal and immoral by the lone dissenter, Democratic Mayor William D. Ryan.

The most controversial sections of the code provide for:

- Denial of relief to mothers of illegitimate children if they bear other children out of wedlock.
- Assignment of able-bodied men on relief to the chief of building maintenance for 40-hour-week work assignments.
- Discontinuance of aid after three months in any year to all except the aged, blind or disabled (later modified to three consecutive months).
- Placement of children in Aid to Dependent Children cases in foster homes if, after investigation, the home environment is deemed not satisfactory.
- Denial of aid to newcomers who cannot show evidence that they had a job offer before coming to the city.
- Payment of aid by vouchers rather than cash.

AN UNSTEADY LID: The opposition by the Negro community was great: Negroes contend that the new plan is the work of bigots and is aimed at starving them out. Ellsworth Potter, president of the Newburgh NAACP chapter, commented: "The lid is going to blow off now."

The welfare plan has crystallized several long-smoldering issues, and the Negro community, in mobilizing for the fight against the new welfare code, is preparing to launch an all-out campaign against other forms of discrimination in the city, including segregated housing and schools. Negroes already have challenged the city's urban renewal program on the following grounds: (1) lack of Negro representation on the urban renewal committee; (2) lack of adequate relocation plans for those who will be moved from the condemned area; (3) unfair evaluations on condemned houses.

SOME DIVISION: Leading the Negro opposition are Potter and Rev. William D. Burton, pastor of the Ebenezer Baptist Church. White Newburgh residents, with the exception of a few clergymen, have not raised their voices in opposition. Mayor Ryan said: "I don't know why more people don't speak up against it." But even among Negroes there is dis-

Afro-American
"Lawdy, they're going to make me a millionaire!"

agreement; many older residents with established positions in the community are unwilling to side with the "newcomers."

But Rev. Burton charges that Newburgh officials are trying to "wall us off from the tremendous national movement of Southern Negroes looking for opportunities. If Newburgh succeeds, hundreds of other cities may try the same thing. A terrible wall of containment would be erected."

The division was emphasized by the **Amsterdam News** editorial July 29 which said: "Everything is not exactly all right in the thirteen-point Newburgh plan; but on the other hand, everything about it is not wrong either . . . It is both spiritually and morally wrong to expect one group of people to take the full responsibility of raising the children of another group . . ."

MITCHELL'S HISTORY: In the wake of the controversy is the publicity that the City Manager Mitchell may be dismissed. He said (N.Y. **Herald Tribune**, July 18) that N.Y. State Atty. Gen. Louis J. Lefkowitz, GOP candidate for Mayor of New York City, is seeking to gather evidence to remove him from office.

In two previous city management positions Mitchell was involved in trouble. The Middletown (N.Y.) **Times Herald-Record** reported that Mitchell had been dismissed as assistant city manager in Culver City, Calif., in a dispute over a garbage disposal system, and that he had left the job of town manager of Marple Township, Pa., after a $10,000 auditing error had been uncovered.

In his defense Mitchell said: "What we are doing here is repugnant to those who want to turn this country into a welfare state." Such statements earned Mitchell praise from Sen. Barry Goldwater (R-Ariz.) and Sen. John Tower (R-Tex.) and won him the support of the reactionary Young Americans for Freedom.

THE STATE'S POSITION: Adverse criticism came from Gov. Nelson Rockefeller and the State Welfare Department. The prospect now is that the matter will be taken to court, since city officials have implemented some parts of the code in defiance of the orders from State Social Welfare Commissioner Raymond W. Houston, and the State Social Welfare Board. Houston said:

"These proposals, if carried out, would set up an illegal program to push around unfortunate men, women and children; and even if not carried out, they constitute psychological warfare against the needy and helpless."

The State Social Welfare Board termed the code illegal, inhuman and dictatorial.

Opposition was also registered by Newburgh's welfare commissioner, John O'Donnell, who testified that the code was illegal at a state welfare hearing in Albany. Mitchell called him a "turncoat" and said the City Council expected him to resign. O'Donnell resigned on July 10.

On July 25 the N.Y. **Post** reported that the three-man citizens committee which had prepared the welfare study on which the code was based disagreed with some parts of it. The three said that Mitchell had acted as secretary for the group, had attended all meetings and had written the report.

STALLED PROGRAM: Despite the city's declared intention of pursuing the program, the criticism seems to have had some effect. The NAACP's Potter told the GUARDIAN: "We think they are in retreat." On July 26 the N.Y. **Post** reported Mitchell as saying: "We're off to a slow start." The **Post** continued: "His critics regard this as a model of understatement. The start is not so much slow, they counter, as non-existent."

Mitchell had begun to screen relief recipents for job assignments. After ten days he had come up with one man able to work, but who could not be assigned because his wife was in the hospital, necessitating his staying home with the five children.

Charles Collingwood, in a CBS Views the Press broadcast July 23, said: "And, as reporters finally began to dig into the welfare statistics, it began to appear that Newburgh's relief rolls weren't really crowded with hale and hearty people leading the life of Riley at the taxpayers' expense after all."

Mitchell announced that cases would be screened at the rate of one a day. The **Post** said: "What Newburgh wants is a foolproof test case that will put this city in the right and state in the wrong."

There was evidence also that the city was backing off on two other parts of the code under attack. Henry Hirshberg, special counsel to Mitchell and the City Council, said the city wouldn't act on the three-month limit rule "because I don't find any time limitation in the

Herblock in the Washington Post
"I don't want my tax money spent on your kind."

State Welfare Law." Of the rule concerning illegitimate children Hirshberg said:

"If the home is all right, if the child is given love, if the mother wasn't doing it for money, then we'll have to continue paying her—even if she has another illegitimate child."

DISTORTED FIGURES: There was evidence to support the State Welfare Board's charge that proponents of the code were engaged in a publicity campaign for the code rather than in an attempt to solve Newburg's problems. A state investigation team said that Mitchell had distorted figures to support his points.

- Mitchell had said that 5% of the city's population was on the dole; the state estimate was 2.9%, slightly under the state average of 3.05%.
- Mitchell said that the bulk of the aid went to new immigrants; the state found that only $1,395 of nearly $2 million has been spent on newcomers in two years.

McKNEALLY'S ROLE: One of the prime movers of the code has been Councilman George F. McKneally, a powerful figure in Republican circles and a brother of American Legion Commander Martin McKneally. Just before the 1959 Council election McKneally spearheaded a "clean-up-the-city" drive during which he said:

"The colored people of this city are our biggest police problem, our biggest sanitation problem and our biggest health problem . . . We cannot put up with their behavior any longer. We have been too lenient with them . . . I notice where the NAACP is studying what they should do about urban renewal. Their real function should be to advise Negro parents on bringing up their children properly."

THE REAL PROBLEM: This fall two Republican council seats will be vacant. Potter said that the NAACP will conduct an intensive voter registration campaign. He noted that for the first time last year one Negro district had a majority of Democratic voters.

As the NAACP expressed it: "Newburgh is a city with major problems growing out of reduced tax revenues, unemployment, lack of industry and commerce to gainfully employ its citizens . . . The solution involves, we believe, attracting new industry, solving the employment problem—both a Federal and state responsibility."

The State's Welfare Department has taken an uncompromising stand; the Federal government, two weeks after the code went into effect, had not. Abraham Ribicoff, Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, limited his comment to a Federal regulation on work relief. "Newburgh can have a work relief program. It could also have had one at any time," he said. "It's very interesting to note that as of July, 1960, a year ago, Newburgh had only one person on work relief."

When Louisiana took 23,000 New Orleans children off relief rolls last summer, under an illegitimacy regulation similar to Newburgh's, it was two and a half months later, after a public outcry rose in England, that the Federal government took action that forced rescinding of the rule.

PENNSYLVANIA DECISION

Schlesinger victor in disbarment case

HYMEN SCHLESINGER, Pittsburgh's veteran civil liberties lawyer, won a 5-1 decision in the Pennsylvania Supreme Court July 18 against a disbarment order handed down by the Allegheny County Common Pleas Court in May, 1960. His disbarment had been sought since 1950 by the Allegheny County Bar Association on charges that he was a Communist.

Witnesses such as Matt Cvetic and Joseph Mazzei, government stoolpigeons discredited by the U.S. Supreme Court and other tribunals, were arrayed against him. At a time in the proceedings Schlesinger found it impossible to get a Pennsylvania lawyer to handle his defense. Later a group of eight lawyers undertook the case. Schlesinger has practiced law in Pittsburgh since 1927, and has been counsel in Smith Act defenses and in many cases involving the foreign born and witnesses before witchhunt committees.

The Supreme Court decision—with Justice Charles A. Musmanno abstaining because he had once held Schlesinger in contempt—said the Bar Association has acted as judge, jury and prosecutor. The decision criticized both the use of discredited witnesses and restrictions on Schlesinger's efforts to cross-examine them.

Finally, the court held that membership in the Communist party, in any case, did not constitute unprofessional conduct and was not grounds for disbarment.

GIL GREEN REARRESTED

Scales to start jail term Oct. 2

JUNIUS IRVING SCALES, former Communist Party leader in North Carolina, is scheduled on Oct. 2 to begin serving a six-year sentence under a Smith Act conviction. Federal District Judge Albert V. Bryan of Alexandria, Va., on July 24 denied Scales' request for a reduction in sentence.

The U.S. Supreme Court upheld Scales' 1958 conviction on June 9 and on June 19 refused to grant a rehearing. He was convicted of knowingly being a member of an organization seeking the violent overthrow of the government. Scales described himself in an affidavit to the district court as "a liberal or radical" who supported the Constitution, and said he had not been associated with the Communist Party since 1957.

A rally in New York on July 27, attended by 1,200, approved a resolution presented by the rally chairman, John T. McManus of the GUARDIAN, calling for the release of Scales and repeal of the Smith Act and the Internal Security Act of 1950 (the McCarran Act).

The meeting was sponsored by the Citizens Committee for Constitutional Liberties, formed after the Supreme Court upheld the Smith and McCarran Acts. The committee seeks to mobilize support for the pending petition to the Supreme Court for a rehearing to ask repeal of the two laws and to help defend organizations and individuals against attempts to enforce the registration provisions of the McCarran Act and against Smith Act prosecutions.

The committee's address is 22 E. 17 St., New York 3. Materials available from the committee include: "A Fateful Moment in Our History," dissenting opinion by Justice Hugo Black, and the dissenting opinion of Chief Justice Earl Warren, at 15 cents a copy or 10 cents each in quantities exceeding 10.

On July 29, another high Communist, Gilbert Green, former Illinois Communist Party chairman, was rearrested immediately after his release from Leavenworth penitentiary. He was charged with membership in an organization dedicated to the overthrow of the government, and was released in $5,000 bail. Green had just completed five and a half years of an eight-year term for conspiracy to teach and advocate violent overthrow of the government.

YOUTH NOT SO EAGER—RELIGIOUS ISSUE RAISED

Peace Corps enthusiasm is beginning to fizzle out

By Lawrence Emery

FOUR GROUPS of young men and women are in training for overseas duty with the Peace Corps, considered by some to be the noblest outpost on the New Frontier. But the initial enthusiasm that greeted the establishment of the corps by Presidential executive order on May 1 is dwindling, and the entire program is running into Congressional opposition because of Director R. Sargent Shriver's announcement that a substantial portion of Corps funds will be spent through overseas welfare agencies operated by various churches.

Now in training are about 80 young men at Rutgers University, New Brunswick, N.J., for assignment to a village development project in cooperation with CARE in Colombia; 40 young men at Texas Western College, El Paso, for a road-building project in Tanganyika; 70 young men and women at the University of California for assignment as secondary school teachers in Ghana, and 45 candidates at Harvard, for Nigeria teaching assignments.

Other projects announced, but for which trainees have not yet been assigned, are for village development and teaching in Chile; animal husbandry in St. Lucia, a small island in the West Indies; and English-teaching in the Philippines.

R. SARGENT SHRIVER
'Revolution is on the move again'

FLOOD OF LETTERS: Almost 25,000 letters poured in on Peace Corps headquarters when it was first set up, but by mid-June only about 10,000 applications had been received and 3,000 of these were ineligible. In the first round of tests in late May and early June, about half the number expected showed up.

In April the New York **Herald Tribune** conducted a survey among 376 students in 24 colleges and found 86% of them in favor of the Peace Corps to some degree. But only 28 said they might enlist.

After the first tests, Peace Corps officials in Washington were surprised when they couldn't find many of those selected. They reported they had gone on vacation, had taken summer jobs, or had simply changed their minds. Dr. Joseph C. Colmen, deputy selection chief, said: "The surprising development is that some gave incorrect home addresses in their applications."

SOME QUOTES: The loss of enthusiasm may be due in part to the windy abstractions as to the Peace Corps' aims and goals. These are sample quotes from director Shriver: "After all, these are urgent times. In the world struggle we have relatively little time left . . . The volunteer must be prepared to live a pioneer life . . . It's going to take the world by surprise. It's going to amaze people who think America has gone soft. It's going to prove that the American revolution is on the move again." He told the Rutgers trainees their job is to make America's voice "loud and clear" around the world again.

This fuzziness is reflected by some of the trainees themselves. Michael Lanigan, a 23-year-old Marine vet, told reporters at Rutgers: "You're thinking that these people are going to Colombia with the great crusader spirit that antagonizes people in a foreign country. But when I tell them where to build a latrine—not next to a stream, since that would pollute it—I won't say do it this way because it's the way it's done in America, but because it is the better way."

NOT 'AGENTS': Shriver has also insisted: "We do not want to send people who seek to convert or propagandize others. The volunteers will not be agents of the cold war or colonialism." But a trainee at Rutgers, Ira Ernest Gwin of Barstow, Calif., told reporters: "There's quite a bit of communist influence down there [Colombia], and for the security of our own country, that's something we can't allow."

Shriver has told newsmen that he is working closely with J. Edgar Hoover and that "every effort will be made to protect the Peace Corps against any infiltration by foreign groups of any kind." He once confessed: "I keep worrying that we may pick some wrong people. I keep worrying that we'll get Jack into hot water—and it'll be my fault." (Jack is President Kennedy, Shriver's brother-in-law.)

NEGRO VIEWS: The Peace Corps has made special efforts to recruit Negro volunteers, with small success. Of the corpsmen now in training, there is a record of only one Negro among them. The Negro press in general has been skeptical and its attitude is summed up by an article by Jesse T. Morris in the Los Angeles **Herald-Dispatch** for July 1. He wrote that Negroes who want to join the Corps "can just as well stay here in the U.S. and help their black brothers. What we need is a Negro Peace Corps—a group designed for purposes of lending a helping hand to our brothers in the South."

The same issue of the paper quoted some African sentiment from **African Life**, official organ of the Northern Rhodesia United National Independent Party, which called the Peace Corps "Yankee hypocrisy" and said: "When our own people are being insulted at a prayer meeting in Montgomery, we suggest to Kennedy that his Peace Corps should first do some education work along the line of equality of man in the U.S. before they come out to the soil of Africa with their dirty dollars."

PHILIPPINES REACTION: There is skepticism from other quarters. **Laging Una**, an English-language Filipino paper published in Los Angeles, commented in its June 5 issue on the Peace Corps proposal to send 300 English teachers to the Philippines:

"The need for education, and therefore educators, in a country where considerably more than half the population are illiterate, is indisputable. But before 300 nice young persons are sent across the Pacific to be eaten alive by mosquitoes in the barrios and towns of the Philippines, there are some prior steps that ought to be taken . . .

"The gap between the number of children ready for school and the available school accommodations grows from year to year. Moreover, school buildings in the provinces are far from satisfactory, especially as regards sanitation arrangements . . .

"There are resources enough to modernize existing school structures and build new ones. The money taken out of the Philippines each year by American corporations, in the shape of profits, would build a lot of schoolhouses. The millions of pesos wasted on riotous living by the native landlord-capitalist class would build some more. And may we add to that the money stolen by corrupt officials in the top echelons of government."

CHURCH ANGLE: Legislation to make the Peace Corps permanent as a semi-autonomous unit of the State Dept. with a $40 million first-year budget is before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, but may bog down on Shriver's proposal to use Peace Corps funds and personnel for church-backed projects overseas.

Shriver would take the edge off this issue by ruling that religious organizations would get neither money nor men unless they agreed to recruit Peace Corps volunteers regardless of religious affiliations. But F. Robert Melina, head of the Peace Corps desk of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, would go only part way with this: "We would want to feel free to reject a person on grounds of character. Give us a fine Protestant who is a firm believer, and of course we will take him. But we are not going to take a non-believer and send him over in our organization."

The overseas arm of the United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. has protested any such tie-up with church groups, and would "affirm our historic belief in the separation of church and state, in the U.S. and other nations of the world."

The American Jewish Congress has also protested: "Any use by religious groups of government funds or of Peace Corps personnel in their church-sponsored projects would, we believe, violate the constitutional mandate of separation of church and state."

Both the Washington **Post** and the New York **Times** have taken similar stands.

A COUPLE OF PUBLIC SERVANTS POST A SIGN
At Key West, Fla., R. A. Lapointe (left) and R. H. Kingston, who run the Keys Advertising Co., admire one of their firm's nine billboards posted on U.S. Highway 1 to counteract Fidel Castro's 26th of July celebration in Cuba.

The missing detail

DIRECTOR SHRIVER told a high school student group in Washington July 26 that a Peace Corps goal was to wage spiritual and intellectual battle for human freedom around the globe, the **AP** reported. One youth asked if the Peace Corps would be brought into the armed services in event of war.

"I would suspect that might happen," Shriver said.. "What specifically might be done, we haven't discussed in detail. War isn't that close; at least, I hope not."

The **Times** said on July 3: "No sectarian religious organization should receive financial support, either direct or indirect, from the corps. For a Federal government agency to give such assistance would be to violate the constitutional separation of church and state, which should be kept sacred—especially in these days when it is being taken far too lightly in the educational field here at home."

The Washington **Post** reported on June 26: "There is a strong likelihood that Congress will prohibit contracts between the Peace Corps and religious groups."

Counting our blessings

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—**U.S. News and World Report**, July 31

Africa's struggle for freedom

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Tunisia massacre

(Continued from Page 1)

France by the Algerian rebel government.

FIERCE ASSAULT: The French responded by flying in paratroops from Algeria, violating a treaty protecting Tunisian airspace. Two rifle shots were fired at a helicopter transport, whereupon French troops, planes and tanks unleashed a terrifying onslaught against the population and the miserably equipped Tunisian soldiers in a 12-mile area around Bizerte.

The French denied Tunisian government charges of using napalm bombs, but reporters counted many bodies "charred beyond recognition." They also saw bombed-out mud huts, fire-blackened mosques, the corpses of women and children piled up along the country roads and in the city streets—victims of U.S.-made dive bombers. A pro-Western Turkish correspondent watched three tanks lunge out of the shipyard at Benzel Bourguiba and spray bullets through the square, killing and wounding scores of townspeople. The sight caused him to join up with the volunteers.

"The ferocity of the French reaction . . . was striking," wrote the New York Times' Robert Daley from Tunis. "The French troops . . . seasoned by years of action in Algeria . . . slaughtered the Tunisians."

The end of the fighting saw the paras prowling through the city—all of which, except the Casbah, they had occupied—looting, pillaging, and streams of refugees "fleeing a city which many of them feared could become a mass graveyard in any new outbreak of hostilities" (Washington **Post**).

WORLD SHOCKED: Not even the documented reports of widespread torture of prisoners by the French army in Algeria so repelled world opinion. Almost unanimously the press of Western Europe denounced the French bombings and characterized the assault as the gravest blow yet to Western prestige. The Norwegian government paper accused its NATO partner of "ruthless behavior" and called for "getting rid" of the strategic NATO base. Prime Minister Nehru of India branded Bizerte a "dreadful affair."

In answer to Bourguiba's call for an "international brigade," volunteers began signing up in Sweden, England and Turkey, as well as in Arab and African countries. The Arab League, with which Bourguiba has long been on the outs because of his ardent pro-Westernism, immediately offered aid and troops, and swift support came from the neutralist All-African Peoples' Conference and the pro-French Monrovia Conference of 20 African states.

Even the French were embarrassed, according to reports from Paris, further weakening President de Gaulle's sliding popularity. But in one capital—Washington—there was no hint of condemnation, and this silence was heard 'round the world as resoundingly as the bomb explosions in Bizerte.

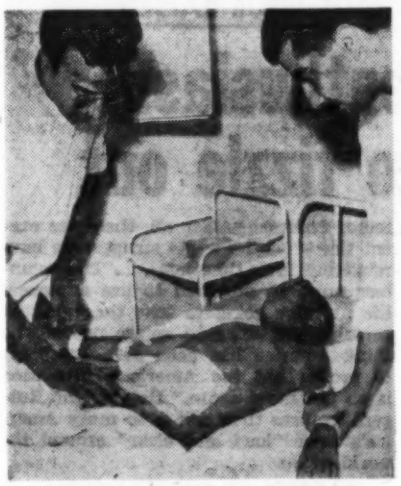
Tunisia's U.S. ambassador, Habib Bourguiba Jr., emerged from a 30-minute "emotional" discussion with Secy. of State Dean Rusk "blazing with anger" (Baltimore **Sun**). Representatives of eight Arab nations were shunted away from the White House when they sought to "challenge the Kennedy Administration to apply [to Tunisia] the same principle of self-determination that it champions in behalf of Germans" in the Berlin case, the **Sun** reported.

U. S. ROLE: The U.S. tried hard to talk the Tunisians out of bringing their complaint of aggression to the UN Security Council, and having failed, joined with Secretary General Dag Hammarskjold to persuade Liberia to water down a UAR-Liberia resolution, backed by the Soviet Union, which called not only for a cease-fire and a return to original military positions but also for negotiations "aimed at the speedy evacuation of the French forces in Tunisia"—a demand universally advanced in the Asian-African world, and set forth later in a letter to the Security Council signed by 36 of those states.

With the negotiations provision dropped and—as Paris was at pains to point out—with the cease-fire achieved, France abstained instead of vetoing the resolution, and then proceeded to ignore the pullback demand and Hammarskjold himself when he flew to Tunisia at Bourguiza's request. For its part, the U.S. rejected a Bourguiba plea to fly Tunisia's 3,200 troops back from UN duty in the Congo (the UN itself took on the job).

France boycotted a second Security Council session and made plain it would disregard a UAR-Ceylon-Liberia resolution demanding immediate compliance with the July 22 pullback directive.

The resolution failed to get the needed seven votes, the U.S., by abstaining, helping to defeat it. Tunisia still had hopes of a debate in the UN General Assembly that would permit "all nations to be heard and to condemn the policy of force practiced by France each time a people claims its rights." Liberia called for a special session of the Assembly, though some delegates doubted the request would be supported by the necessary majority of the 99 member states.



YOUNG VICTIM AT BIZERTE
The slaughter was indiscriminate

THE BACKGROUND: Plaguing Washington most about the affair was why so staunch a friend (the U.S. subsidizes about 60% of the Tunisian budget) had chosen the moment when the West was gearing for a Berlin "crisis" to have a showdown with France. As usual, the obvious answer was the most frequently overlooked. Always deeply anti-colonialist, Bourguiba had accepted independence in 1956 without French troop evacuation, but he had extracted a pledge that this would be negotiated. Since then he has kept up constant, but fruitless, pressure on Paris to carry out the pledge.

In 1958, after a massacre of civilians in the Tunisian border town of Sakiet-Sidi-Youseff by a French bomber from Algeria, the French signed an agreement withdrawing all its troops from the country except a reduced garrison at Bizerte and again promising talks aimed at abandoning the base. Paris continued to do nothing until recently, when it began extending its airfield runways for big jet traffic, which looked to the Tunisians like "settling in rather than getting out."

On June 6 Bourguiba sent off a note to Paris requesting immediate talks. On July 15 he told Washington de Gaulle had not even deigned to reply and asked U.S. help. Ignored, he issued a two-day ultimatum to de Gaulle on July 17, and still ignored, he staged the "peace siege" and the march to Marker 233 on schedule, much to Washington's and Paris's "surprise."

WIDE EFFECTS: Most diplomats agree with Italian rightwing Socialist leader Guiseppe Saragat that the repercussions, long- and short-range, for the West will be "immense." Chief among them is the embittered disillusionment with the West of Bourguiba, who confessed that the French action and Washington's cold response came as "a painful surprise." He promptly severed diplomatic relations with France, pointedly expressed gratitude for the Soviet Union's support, and, for the first time, indicated a turn to the East if the U.S. fails him in his determination to liquidate the Bizerte base.

He is thus drawn back toward the neutralist Arab camp, from which he had ousted himself by "favoring imperialism," in Cairo's view.

The French stood to lose much, as well, because of Bizerte's effect on the Algerian problem. France's other great North African base at Mers el Kebir, near Oran has been a main sticking point along with the Sahara, in the Algerian peace negotiations on which the success of de Gaulle's regime largely depends. Within a week of the French attack the FLN, which had offered "all material help" to its Saharan rival, broke off the peace talks and threatened full revival of its seven-year-old war of liberation.

BLOW TO WEST: Finally, Bizerte has thrown a mighty monkey wrench, psychologically and materially, into the Western struggle to achieve a "position of strength" for the upcoming Berlin contest. French arms are now more bogged down than ever in North Africa, and the "freedom" emblem under which President Kennedy aims to contend in Germany has been badly tarnished, even in the eyes of his own military allies.

With a long and bitter struggle looming, the Tunisian weekly **Action Afrique**, which is close to the government, predicted that after Bizerte the nations of Africa, Latin America and Asia would seek to disengage themselves more and more from Western influence.

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THE GALLERY

ROBERT CLOGHER, puckish Promethean nudist, nearly set off new Little Rock riots on July 4. From his headquarters in Holy City, Calif., he advised Little Rock editors that in protest against Arkansas' law prohibiting practice and advocacy of nudism, he and other nudists would emulate the prophet Isaiah by taking off "the shoes from their feet and the sackcloth from their loins and walk naked and barefoot" on Orval Faubus' Capitol steps.

Clogher named his brigade "Freedom Strippers" who would "segregate themselves from their clothes as a nonviolent protest."

At the appointed hour, 500 would-be oglers, including police and state officials, lined up at the Capitol steps. Many brought cameras. They waited an hour in 92-degree heat—in vain. The Freedom Strippers never showed.

Clogher informed the Gallery that he had made his point: he violated the Arkansas law by advocating nudism. He also announced that he had cast his fig leaf in the ring as candidate for president of the Natl. Nudist Council, which will hold its convention Aug. 2-6 at Sunshine Park in Mays Landing, N.J. If elected, he promises to hold next year's convention in Little Rock.

BRIGADIER DEREK HORSFORD, on assuming command of British forces in Kuwait, ordered the desert frontier mined against Iraqi troops, allegedly massing for an attack. Defending his move, he said: "I have been ordered to come in and organize the defense of this country. If I am caught with my pants down, then I would deserve the sack." . . . After 16 years' negotiations the San Marino Grand Council voted to accept $224,000 from Britain for war damages. San Marino, a tiny republic in the Apennine Mountains in east-central Italy, was neutral in World War II. But on June 26, 1944, British bombers attacked the country by mistake, killing 59 persons and causing extensive damage. . . . Harold Krabbenhoft, commander of the American Legion post in Placerville, Calif., petitioned the state Legion body to drop the word "comrade" from the organization's ritual because the word's connotation has been distorted by the Communist Party . . . The Nationalist Chinese on Taiwan are sending their own version of the Peace Corps to Latin America on a mission sponsored by the Moral Rearmament movement.

International Teamster, Washington
"Boxley, start looking for a replacement for yourself."

ENGINEERS JUST OUT OF SCHOOL are commanding high salaries because those who graduated ten years ago are obsolete, according to Chester J. Kishel, chairman of Fenn College's industrial engineering department. "For an engineer to keep up to date on developments," Kishel said, "he would have to spend 30 per cent of his time studying. One of the reasons the Russians are ahead of us is that their teachers are young while, by last-minute standards, half of our professors are obsolescent." . . . To help local industry, Haiti's Legislature passed a law requiring school children to wear straw hats made in Port-au-Prince . . . **Mad** magazine has had its troubles with the armed forces. It was banned by the 24th Infantry Division in Germany because it allegedly weakened respect for authority. Fort Benning brass barred it because of an anti-war satire. It was barred at Travis Air Force Base for being "communistic." . . . At a World Affairs conference run by the American Friends Service Committee at Camp Sierra, Calif., in June a guest speaker was Alexander Fomin of the Soviet Embassy. After a day or two of talk, a baseball game was organized. Chicago unionist Sidney Lens showed Fomin how to hold the bat, which the Soviet official viewed as a strange "club." Lens taught him well; in his first at bat Fomin hit a home run. At the week's end the conference agreed on a resolution urging the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. to find new ways to resolve their differences.

CATHERINE McCARDLE, 61, was unrepentant after six days in a Glasgow jail. She was locked up for painting a bookstore window black to hide a display of **Lady Chatterley's Lover.** "I don't regret it," Miss McCardle said, "The shop should not be selling such filth." Reporters asked if she had read the book. "I wouldn't dream of reading it," she answered . . . Roy Carney of Detroit learned from his mistakes. Police charged him with stealing $282 from a bar. Of the loot, $190 was in nickles, dimes and half-dollars. On his arrest Carney said: "You never would have caught me if I hadn't been weighed down by all that hard money." . . . Mrs. Vivian Proctor, who operates a goat farm in Alvin, Texas, carries her animals from place to place in her Cadillac. It befits the goats' character, especially the breeds used to a quiet, unhurried life, she maintains . . . In Wirral, England, a man wrote to a local librarian to complain that a book he had borrowed was stamped in error for return the same day. "Admittedly," he wrote, "the book is entitled 'How to Speed Up Your Reading,' but this is ridiculous." . . . North Carolina's Legislature passed a Blue Law effective October 1 forbidding Sunday sales of clothing, housewares, hardware, jewelry, watches, clocks, musical instruments, records, paints and lumber. The legislators resisted efforts to make exemptions on religious grounds, but they yielded an exemption for television repairs.

—Robert E. Light

BOOKS

The artist's role

NOT MANY philosophers carry to their discussions the authentic credentials Barrows Dunham brings to **The Artist in Society.*** In addition to being a philosopher of note, Dunham is also a poet, a musician and, in the best sense of that much mutilated word, an "amateur"—that is, a passionate lover of the arts. He is also equipped with a felicitous style and his esthetic taste has been disciplined and deepened, as he puts it, by "socialist enlightment and a socialist vision."

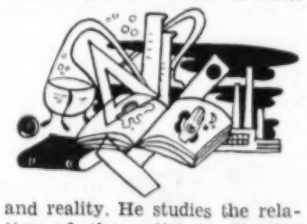
Dunham takes as his keynote Lenin's statement that "one cannot live in society and be free of society." His book, therefore, is not merely an abstract discussion of "art" or of "the artist," or of "society," but a contribution toward clearing the contemporary atmosphere of the vapors generated by the cold war — pessimism, existentialist despair, and nihilism—that hang so heavily over the American landscape. Dunham speaks from the vantage point of hope, and with the chastened assurance that the world is marching not toward destruction but toward a peaceful and beneficent future.

AS A HUMANIST, he is much concerned with encouraging whatever creative potential is to be found in our society, and exploring to what extent present historical conditions serve to advance or to hinder its development and expression.

International Teamster, Washington, D.C.
"Don't forget — you and your kind can be replaced by humans."

What are the forces that operate to divert the true artist from his ideal goals? How, for example, can we arrest the horrifying tendencies inherent in the corporate life of our country from turning man into "the lengthened shadow of an institution" (note the current state of radio, television, and motion pictures), so that we see the highest market values placed on sex and violence as the only two themes that are universally acceptable to church, state, corporation and union? How harmonize the interests of artist and state in the new socialist societies, which in the rigors of strenuous reconstruction, have tended toward what Dunham calls an excess of "puritanism" and dogmatism?

Dunham brilliantly analyzes the social nature of esthetic bias and taste. He explodes the theory that an artist can in any sense be "free" of morality, since all art that is sincere already implies choices and dedications to some "vision" of truth



and reality. He studies the relation of the artist to "truth," "goodness" and "beauty"—all of which traditional concepts he reformulates for our day. Man labors to control nature and master it, so that he may survive and ensure the survival of his progeny. Scientists and philosophers analyze, synthesize and discover. This constitutes in Dunham's phrase the "serious" business of living. The artist conveys for us all the strivings, conflicts, hopes, despairs that accompany these activities; he tells us how it feels "to be a human being at a certain time and place," he unifies facts with values, science with ethics, and gives us the kind of esthetic experience that enables us, the spectators, "to deal with problems more sanely than before."

IT IS THE PARTICULAR merit of books such as this one that they raise more questions than they can possibly answer. Certainly one of the most serious questions raised in this context is Dunham's provocative discussion of art as a form of "play," by means of which the artist disengages us from the "serious" world of bustle, trouble and daily fret and enables us, like gods resting after six days' labors, to contemplate what we have achieved.

I am not at all sure that the concept of art as "play," distinguished from the "serious" business of living is not an heirloom of an age the central character of which appeared to be irreconcilable conflict and self-division. The Romantics loved in that way to find an escape from the problems of living in this world. Is it too fanciful to imagine a society in which all the resources of technology are socially used so that the humdrum and drudgery of daily life are reduced to a minimum, making for such an abundance of creative leisure that "art" becomes its most "serious" pursuit? If we can hope eventually to see in every cook a statesman, can we not also hope to turn every statesman into an artist? I am sure that is Dunham's hope, and the hope of us all.

A SECOND EDITION of Dunham's book will no doubt enable him to enlarge upon this and other problems he has raised. It will also enable him to correct one or two minor lapses in an otherwise impeccable taste, such as interesting but scarcely relevant excursions into autobiography, or psychiatric references to the influence exerted by "mom" and "pop." One will also look forward to more enlightment on the kind of harmony established between the spectator and the work of art—is it release of tension, reconciliation to the world as it is, purgation of pity and fear, or recognition of possibility of change?

But the fact that these questions do arise is all Dunham's "fault." For he has written a brilliant, instructive, and very provocative book.

—Frederic Ewen

**THE ARTIST IN SOCIETY, by Barrows Dunham. Marzani and Munsell, Inc. 125 pp. $1.65.*

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GOOD MATERIAL, INADEQUATE ANALYSIS

A portrait of Dostoyevsky

ROBERT PAYNE's biography of Dostoyevsky is interesting and useful, but not really a good book. It does contain a detailed account of the facts of Dostoyevsky's life; 22 excellent photographs of his family, his friends, and himself at various periods; and, above all, many substantial quotations from letters, journals and reported conversations. But there is an almost total lack of any serious psychological or political insight and, frequently, an unanalyzed acceptance of Dostoyevsky's own beliefs and prejudices.

Neither these defects nor the somewhat glib, superficial narrative style prevent the volume from being a valuable supplement to a study of the novels, but one finds oneself progressively becoming both more anxious for an informed attempt to make sense of the given facts, and more dubious at every generalization or explanation offered.

—Annette T. Rubinstein

**DOSTOYEVSKY, A HUMAN PORTRAIT, by Robert Payne. Alfred A. Knopf, 1961. 404 pp. $5.75.*

NEWSPAPER

the SPECTATOR

From Spain to Berlin

Special to the Guardian

BERLIN, July 19

TWENTY-FIVE YEARS AGO yesterday, Franco's rebellion against the Spanish Republic he had sworn to uphold began—and Franco still is sitting in Madrid at the helm of a fascist regime that would never have been established had it not been for Adolf Hitler.

As this is written in the guest-house of the German Democratic Republic on Ernst Thaelmannplatz, we look out the window and see the spot where Hitler killed himself in a bunker underneath his Reichschancellery.

There is nothing there today but a low mound convered by grass, a few bushes and flowers and a bench on which children are playing. Hitler's grave cannot be visited but there is a cemetery we visited yesterday where the memory of Thaelmann, the great German Communist leader, is enshrined. And there is another cemetery,—the Soviet cemetery in Treptow Park—whose paths are paved with the crushed stones of the Reichschancellery that stood across the street from where we are staying.

Timothy, London Sunday Times
"No, not Lebensraum — that was something quite different!"

The irony of these juxtapositions —Hitler - Thaelmann and Reichschancellery paving stones for Soviet war memorial—has not been lost on the 450 veterans of the International Brigades who fought Franco and Hitler in Spain more than a score of years ago and who are gathered in Berlin this week to commemorate the 25th anniversary of the outbreak of that war and to pledge a continuing fight for liberation of the 6,000 political prisoners in Franco's jails, and for the entire Spanish people.

THE 450 VETERANS, from 12 nations, met yesterday afternoon in the Sportshalle on Stalinallee. They were joined in marking the war anniversary—and were themselves honored—by 3,000 citizens of East and West Berlin. Speakers included IB veterans from Germany (Franz Dahlem, former political officer of the Brigades, now a member of the central committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany), French, Polish, Yugoslav, British, Czech and American veteran-delegates, and the great Spanish Republican soldier, General Modesto.

The appearance of Modesto, who rose from the ranks of the Spanish workers to lead Spanish Republican Army campaigns, provoked a rare demonstration of affection and frank emotion.

The largest delegation came from the U.S. It comprised 22 veterans of the Lincoln Battalion, two frontline nurses, 14 wives and 15 children. They were led by Moe Fishman of New York, secretary of the American veterans' organization. Their spokesman at the rally was Bill Bailey, a former New York sailor, now a San Francisco longshoreman.

Bailey was one of the leaders of the first great New York anti-nazi demonstration, when 30,000 New Yorkers picketed the luxury liner Bremen on her first arrival in N.Y. harbor.

Bailey climbed out on the prow of the ship and tore down the Swastika flag—for which he was beaten by the Germans aboard, and jailed by N.Y. cops.

AFTER THE MASS MEETING a magnificent reception was held for the visiting veterans (many of whom have risen to positions of influence in their governments in Czechoslovakia, Poland, Germany, Yugoslavia and Italy—but not in the U.S.) More than 1,000 persons attended. And here was additional irony: The reception was held in a handsome building on Leipzigerstrasse which used to house the Air Ministry of the late Hermann Goering.

In the beautiful cemetery dedicated to the memory of Thaelmann and other martyrs to fascism such as Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxembourg, there is a simple shaft of stone on which there is a simple phrase: **Die Toten mahnen uns**—The dead cry a warning to us.

—Alvah Bessie

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